2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

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him. His Canon was handed down orally to the elders and in their hands has been somewhat modified in different districts, but was in force through all the North Albanian mountains, both Moslem and Christian. Truly "in force," for "Lek said so" obtained more obedience than the Ten Commandments, and the teaching of the hodjas and the priests was often vain if it ran counter to that of Lek.

Who was Lek Dukagin? The Dukagini were chieftains in North Albania, and the few references to them show they ruled wide lands. In 1309 King Urosh II signed himself "King of Serbia, Chelmie, Dioclie, and Albania," and his successors styled themselves "King of Albania" till Stefan Dushan's death in 1356; but the Serbs, though they exacted tribute and labour from certain districts, do not seem to have penetrated and influenced the mountains. Only thus can we account for the fact that, except near Scutari, the place-names are Albanian, and that so soon as the Serb Empire began crumbling on Dushan's death the names of Albanian chieftains appear. The oldest reference to the Dukagini I can find is a letter, *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia* (No. 133), from Pope Innocent III to the "noble man Demetrius, Prince of Albania," replying to one asking for religious instruction, and a document of 1216, explaining that "Demetrius is son of Progon and brother of Gini, Count of Albania."

Hopf (*Chroniques inédits Greco-Romanes*, Berlin, 1873) gives, as a result of much search, a pedigree of the Dukagini. The earliest is "Tanusius I, Dux Ginus, Lord of Zadrima, the Black Mountain (Mal i zi on the Drin?), Pulati, and Shati." He is probably the "Dux Ginius Tanuschus Albanensis" who is taken prisoner by Johannis Scotus, Charles of Sicily's Captain, at Durazzo in 1281 (*v. Acta et Dip.*, No. 455). "Gini" is Albanian for John. "Dukagini" is Duke John; "dux," in the sense of leader or chief. The title "duca" hails from Venice, just as do "gubernador" and "kapetan" in Montenegro.

From Tanusius Dux Ginus descends Lek (Alexander) I. He was a chieftain who aided the Venetians against the Turks. A dispatch from Alessio, December 1387 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 413), states that the brothers Lek and Paul Dukagin permit free passage through their lands to the Ragusans. In 1393 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 501), the "noble lords, Progon and Tanus, brothers, sons of the late lord Lek Dukagin, lords of the castle of Alessio," in their own names and on behalf of their relatives, hand over Alessio to the Venetians, being unable to hold it against the Turks. This Tanus is described by Hopf as lord of Fandi (now part of Mirdita). As he was lord also of Alessio this shows his lands to have been wide. He had a son, Paul, lord of Gurikuchi, Salita, etc., whose son, Lek II, is probably the Lek of the Canon. Hopf describes him as lord of Dagno and Zadrima between 1444 and 1459. These were the

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days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice, and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.

Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

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[For biographical information on King Zog I see category 116, pp. 97-102.]

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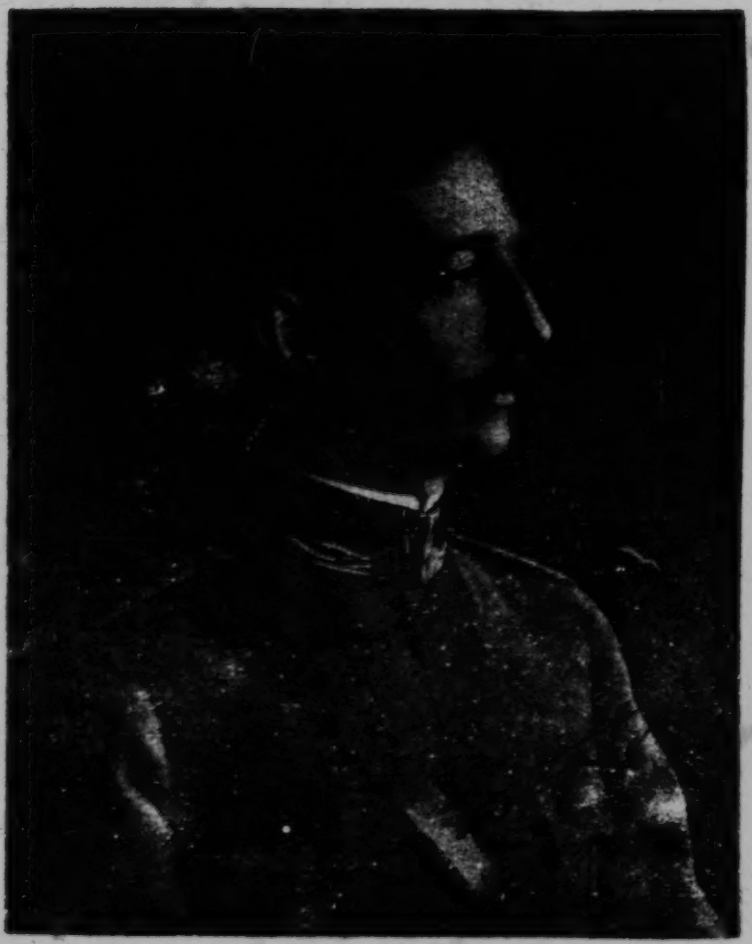

HIS MAJESTY KING ZOG I

KING OF THE ALBANIANS

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

The Republic of Albania

ON Christmas evening of 1924, Ahmed Bey Zogu won over the considerate and intelligent elements of the population. He re-entered Tirana and was greeted by the whole town with shouts of cheer and gratitude and was hailed as the leader who would direct Albania into a peaceful and prosperous future. As soon as harmony and tranquility had been restored, the young leader called upon the Albanians for the election of a Constitutional Assembly, which body declared Albania a republic in January, 1925, and the Albanians showed unwavering loyalty by electing, on January 31, 1925, Ahmed Bey Zogu as their first president.

The new president studied the needs, requirements and the psychology of his people. He was determined to make Albania into a peaceful and united nation, and, through his obvious efforts, he won the support and admiration of the strongest and sturdiest clans of Albania. These clans, which had never paid taxes to the Sultans of Turkey, now began to

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG/

The Kingdom of Albania

643 THE peak of President Zogu's success was reached on September 1, 1928, when, upon the acclamation of his subjects, Albania was declared a democratic, constitutional, hereditary monarchy and this able leader was proclaimed the King of the Albanians, under the title of King Zog I.

643 King Zog's rise to the throne of Albania is in keeping with the psychology of the Albanian people. In this rugged country, the idea of a king has taken very deep root, and in the mind of the Albanian no president can fill the places occupied by King Pyrrhus, Alexander the Great and Scanderbeg the Great.

Under King Zog, Albania has been making steady progress toward modernization of such magnitude that it can be favorably compared to that promoted by other leaders of great nations who have assumed power and built an united country out of what might have been chaos.

When we consider that Albania has passed through the upheaval of the world war fol-

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

643 lowed by several uprisings, and, when we realize that, following the world war, Albania was pillaged by her neighbors, and, lastly, when we comprehend in some measure the tremendous task that confronted the king as the ruler of a torn and sadly mutilated country endeavoring, in the role of a new and independent nation, to struggle to its feet, and against terrific economic, social, and political odds to take its place in the family of nations, when he was called upon to face innumerable problems in organizing a government without money and to create a peaceful nation out of chaos, only then can we appreciate the great achievements of King Zog. He has met and beneficially solved the numerous post-war problems, social, political, cultural and economic, which confronted Albania, creating the necessary administration of government and freeing the country of invaders.

197 The promotion of national consciousness was pushed ahead by the use of a common language in which school-books, newspapers and literary works have to be printed, substituting for the local dialects. The law of agra-
423 rian reform of 1930 laid the foundation for
[565] the creation of a nationalistically-inclined class of small peasant proprietors.

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HIS MAJESTY KING ZOG I AT HIS DESK

(facing p. 74)

System of Government

642 ALBANIA is a democratic, constitutional, hereditary monarchy, ruled by a king of the ancient dynasty of the Zogus of Mati, which family was interrelated by marriage in the fifteenth century with Scanderbeg the Great, Albania's national hero-king.

643 According to the Constitution, the monarchy is hereditary in the male line in the Zogu dynasty. In case of the absence of a direct heir, the ruling king designates, with the approval of Parliament, his own successor from the male line of his family.

The king names the Prime Minister and the cabinet.

646 Parliament is composed of a House of Representatives, deputies to which are elected by free, equal, universal and direct suffrage of all male citizens. One deputy for every 15,000 population is elected for the term of four years. Parliament consists now of 56[1] deputies.

Any citizen of 30 years of age and over,

[1] [Errata: should be 58. 76 Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. 116--Analyst]

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ten in Albanian, and Albanian was the only language the boys knew. Three months later they were speaking, reading, and writing English, and the first school year began. In March, when we came to Tirana, they were the finest upstanding lot of youngsters that ever made a teacher proud, and our arrival was celebrated by an evening's entertainment, for which the boys extemporized little plays in English, political parodies so witty that they brought tears of mirth to the eyes. I do not think the record of those boys is equaled anywhere, and to find Rexh among them was the happy ending to the story.

"And now Ahmet Bey is Minister of the Interior! Who is chief of the Mati, then?"

"His mother is chief when he is away, Mrs. Lane."

"Is he a good Minister of the Interior?"

"He works very hard. I think he did not have much schooling. He came from the court of Abdul Hamid when he was sixteen—you remember the *comitadj* told you—and he has been fighting ever since. He came to Tirana last December when there was the strike."

"No, Rexh! A strike? In Tirana?"

"It is a long story, Mrs. Lane. If you would have a coffee with me, I would tell it all."

We left the others wandering down the Durazzo road and back, and sat at a little table beneath a plane tree by the white arches of the café. A waiter brought us cups of Turkish coffee, and while the crowd went slowly past us

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and bursts of Albanian song came through the open windows and a great yellow moon rose behind the white minaret, Rexh told the tale of the first strike in Albanian history.

"It was at the time of the Merdite trouble. I do not know what you have heard of the Republic of the Merdite; it was a Serbian plan to get the Merdite country. The people were starving, and the Serbs promised them corn, and I think there was money for the Merdite chiefs, because some of them signed a paper that said there was a Republic of the Merdite and the Serbs sent that paper to Europe. Then other chiefs fought these chiefs that signed it, and the Serbs came in, and Ahmet Bey Mati was sent with our soldiers to fight the Serbs. It is five days to the Merdite, when the trails are good.

"You know, Mrs. Lane, Albania has no king. We have four regents, that we call quarter-kings. We laugh when we say it. 'There goes a quarter-king,' we say. There are the Ministers elected by Parliament, and their chief, the Prime Minister; they are the real kings. They do things, and then afterward the quarter-kings have to say, 'Yes, that is what we would have done.'

"While Ahmet Bey was gone to the Merdite with all our soldiers, there were only three quarter-kings in Tirana. One was gone to Geneva; he was a good one. One that was here was a good one. One was a friend of Castoldi, the Italian. No good Albanian, Mrs. Lane, is a friend of Italy. And the last

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mountains, and other men telephoned it with their voices to Ahmet. So he came secretly around Prishtini's men, and came walking day and night to Tirana. He left his men in the Merdite to hold the Serbs, and took the twelve hundred fresh men from the Catholic part of the Mati."

"Ahmet is Mohammedan?"

"Yes, Mrs. Lane. His family has been Mohammedan since Scanderbeg died."

"In the morning I shall go to see Ahmet. He must be a remarkable man."

Rexh considered this statement. "He is a good man, yes. We have a saying in the mountains, Mrs. Lane. 'Ask a thousand men, then follow your own advice.' I think that is what Ahmet does."

I had interviewed, without exceptional enthusiasm, each member of the Albanian Cabinet save Ahmet, the Hawk, chief of the Mati. But I am not, in general, enthusiastic about the Ministers or members of Parliament that I have met in any country. In democratic countries their profession gives their minds a remarkable agility, like that of the elephant on the rolling ball. The muscular development of the elephant a-pilin' teak in the slushy mushy creek has more interest for me. This is a matter of personal taste. However, I am about to become so enthusiastic about Ahmet Bey Mati that it seems well to mention that my enthusiasms are few, and not

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we could see appeared to be all right, everyone assured us that everything was all right. I went into Ahmet Bey's office prepared to exchange the elaborate forms of mountain courtesy and to look at Ahmet no more.

The office was bare. No overstuffed furniture, no rugs. Bare floor, bare walls, an unpainted wooden table, and Ahmet. He was keen, self-controlled, hard willed. That was the first impression. The second was that he was the best-dressed man, in a European sense, that I had seen for a long time. He was dressed like the successful American business man who gives *carte blanche* to a very good tailor and forgets clothes. He rose, said, "*Tu njet jeta*" ("I am glad you have come"), and while he said it he looked at me as a scientist looks at a microscope slide. Then he offered me a chair, sat down, and added, "Can I be of service to you, madame?"

The shock was such that my mind blinked. Then I said that I wished to visit Mati and the Merdite, and had come to the Ministry of the Interior to arrange for the trip. Ahmet offered me a cigarette, and lighted it, and my mind waked to alertness, for I saw that he was making time in which to choose his reply. There *was* something wrong; our feeling was right! I would trip him into giving me a clew.

Our eyes met as I thanked him for the cigarette, and I saw that he saw that I knew he had been hesitating. Idiot that I was, to betray it, I thought. And he said, "This is a difficult time

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in Albania, madame. I cannot tell you whether you can go to the mountains or not. I cannot discuss our difficulties with you to-day. In ten days' time they will be ended. I must ask you to wait ten days, perhaps less, certainly no more. Then if you can come to see me again, I will tell you anything you want to know. If it is possible for you to go into the mountains, of course you will go as guest of the Albanian government."

Everything had been said. He accompanied me to the door, said: "Long may you live! Go on a smooth trail!" and held the door open, simultaneously for me to go out and for the next caller to come in. The door shut. And I said, "That is one of the few great men I have met."

All that day, at intervals, I recalled that interview and marveled. How had that man come from his background? From the leisurely, evasive, allusive talks of the mountains, from the intricate subtleties of Abdul Hamid's court, where had he got that incisiveness, that direct, driving force? It was genius, I said; nothing less. I went about asking, "Is Ahmet Bey a patriot?" For if he were not, certainly he was one of the most dangerous men in Albania.

I was told that he was a nephew of Essad Pasha, who sold Albania to Serbia for the title of its king, and was assassinated by Albanians in Paris. I was told that Ahmet had sold timber rights in the Mati to Italians, but had later revoked the sale. I was told that he was a very rich man, and that he held the forty thousand

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643 fighting men of the Mati in his hand. I was told that the Serbs, in one of their 1921 raids, had burned the Great House in the Mati, the house in which his family had lived for five centuries. 000 Nothing else, apparently, was known about him.

Walking that night at sunset time with all Tirana, we were surprised to observe that the soldiers lounging around the fires in the courtyard of their barracks were not the same soldiers who had been there the night before. These were new men, recruits, and—by the pattern of their trousers—men from the plains of the south. Raw peasant youths, they looked. None of them carried rifles on their backs, and the few rifles we saw were held awkwardly, as by unpracticed hands. Of course there is a constant flow of recruits through Tirana, for as the government disarms the mountaineers it endeavors to build up a trained citizen army, on the Swiss plan. But we guessed, by the absence of the seasoned soldiers, that there was battle, or danger of battle, somewhere else in Albania.

Incredible, as we walked homeward under the white moon, that on this spring night men could be killing one another. Incredible, in this magic of moon and rippling water and a little owl calling love notes from the dark cypress, that anywhere there was anything but peace. The tall carved wooden gate of our courtyard was romantic in the shadow of Government House; our little house was picturesque with black shadows on white plaster; there was glamour everywhere.

[March 1922 --[316] Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

665 A new generation of political leaders now came forward, many of whom were to play an important part in this story. In the South, the Orthodox Bishop Fan Noli, with a group of returned emigrants from the United States, formed a party professing Radical principles. He met with some support, especially among the landless Orthodox peasantry, but his movement suffered from the difficulties of applying advanced Western ~~political~~ theories to tribal or feudal communities where the Ottoman tradition of government still prevailed. The Moslems of the South also formed a party, to which most of the Tosk beys adhered. Prominent among its leaders were Ali Klissura, Midhat Frasheri, and Mehdi Frasheri, who represented perhaps the most enlightened element among the Albanians, combining a Western education with practical experience of administration in the Ottoman civil service. Mehdi Frasheri indeed had been Governor of Jerusalem under the Turks, and was later to surprise his colleagues in the League of Nations Assembly by a speech on the Palestine Mandate such as they had scarcely expected from the Albanian delegate. In the North there were tribal factions rather than political parties. The leader of the Catholics was Jon Marko Joni, who had become Captain of the Mirdita in succession to Prenk Bib Doda and was for a time the protagonist of a Serbian inspired plan for the creation of an autonomous Mirdite Republic. Bairam Bey Tsuri and Tsena Bey Kryeziu, two hot-tempered guerilla leaders, contended for supremacy among the Moslem clans of the north-east, while Mustafa Kruya and Sufi Elezi
● 643 were paramount in Kruya and in Dibra. But the strongest man in the country, drawing his power, like Essad Pasha before him, from the fighting men of Mati and the rich landowners of Central Albania, was Ahmet Bey Zog.

643 159 Ahmet Zog was born in 1895 of a family of Mati Beys with a long tradition of distinguished service to the Ottoman Empire. When he was but a boy his grandfather, Jemal Pasha, conspired with Marshal Rejeb Pasha to carve out an independent Albanian kingdom from the ruin of Turkish power in Europe. The Marshal was at the time in command of the Turkish armies in Tripoli and planned to sail to Albania with his best troops as soon as Jemal Pasha should raise the standard of revolt. But

1/A [After Paris Peace Conference, 1920 -- Analyst]

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Sultan Abdul Hamid, sitting in the Yildiz at the centre of his web of spies, got wind of the conspiracy. He dared not recall Rejeb Pasha or order his arrest; for he knew that the African army was loyal to the Marshal, and feared that such a move might provoke the very revolt which he wished to prevent. Instead he simulated a political crisis, and, dismissing his Divan, offered the Ministry of War to Rejeb. The Marshal accepted, confident that the secret of his conspiracy was well kept, and thinking perhaps that he could carry out his plans the more easily, once in control of the whole military machine of the Empire. He accordingly repaired to Stamboul, and, on his arrival, was summoned to an audience at the Yildiz. The Imperial Guard, an Albanian unit, was drawn up in his honour; and if he came with misgivings they must have been dispelled by the marks of confidence and affection with which the Sultan received him. From the Imperial presence Rejeb Pasha drove back to the capital and proceeded to the Ministry of War to take up his new functions. He was shown into his office, where obsequious secretaries lit his cigarette and brought him a cup of coffee. Of it he drank and died: the Sultan's agents had poisoned it.

The conspiracy was scotched, but it would have been no easy task for the Turkish authorities to have arrested Jemal Pasha Zog among the mountaineers of Mati. The Sultan, however, judged it politic to forget, and was content to have young Ahmed Zog brought to Stamboul as a hostage for his grandfather's loyalty. The old ruler took a liking to the boy and had him brought up in the palace and educated at the officers' school in the Galata Saray. He sent him for his holidays to Macedonia, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and Egypt — but never to his home — and even made him for a time one of his A.D.C.s. Thus at an early age Zog absorbed the principles of Oriental government, and learned from its greatest living exponent the art of playing off his enemies one against another.

When the Young Turks deposed the Sultan, Zog escaped through Macedonia to his home in Mati. He was still a mere boy, but he led his clansmen against the Serbs during the Balkan Wars, and on one occasion raided as far as the suburbs

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of Skoplje. In the first World War he made common cause with the Austrians, and, thanks to his influence in Mati, was made a colonel in the Albanian forces formed under their aegis. It was not long, however, before an incident, illustrative of the man's character, brought him into conflict with his allies. It had originally been agreed that the Albanian forces should march under their own national flag, but the Austrian authorities presently issued an order that they should fly instead the colours of the Dual Monarchy. Three Albanian officers resisted the change and were shot on the order of an over-zealous Austrian colonel. When Zog heard of their deaths, he arrested the first three Austrian officers he could lay hands on, and had them executed in reprisal. This action confronted the Austrian general commanding in Albania with a delicate problem; he could hardly overlook such a gesture of defiance, yet he feared to proceed against Zog lest by so doing he should alienate the men of Mati and other Albanians friendly to Austria. In the end the order concerning the colours was rescinded, and Zog was posted to the Imperial Headquarters: an appointment which amounted in practice to honourable confinement in Vienna. There he was kindly received by the old Emperor, and once again internment gave him the chance to learn something of the ways of another great Empire which had long played a leading part in the Balkans. Constantinople and Vienna were not, perhaps, bad schools for a future ruler of Albania.

As soon as the war was over, Zog returned to Albania and set about reorganising his faction. Despite his youth — he was only twenty-five in 1920 — he soon became the strongest single influence in the land and was the real power either in, or behind, the many governments that followed one another up to 1924. His authority derived from the rifles of the Gheg tribesmen and the money-bags of the Gheg *beys*; and it would seem that, in return for their support, he assigned to them a lavish share in the fruits of power. The preference thus shown to the Ghegs was a natural cause of discontent among the Tosks and combined with personal jealousies to create a revolutionary situation. Bishop Fan Noli joined forces with Ali Klissura and the

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643 669 [159] Tosk *beys*, and won the support of Mustafa Kruya, the cunning Gheg chieftain who swayed Kruya province. With considerable skill they isolated Zog from his supporters, and in 1924 seized power by insurrection and drove him across the border into Yugoslavia.

The conflict between Zog and Fan Noli has sometimes been characterised as a struggle for power between " conservatives " and " progressives "; but in this, as in almost all Albanian revolts, the division between the contending parties was one of geography and faction rather than of opinion or class. Much was offered to the masses in the programmes of both sides, but the practice in either case redounded chiefly to the advantage of the men in power. It will perhaps be sufficient comment on the policies of the Fan Noli regime to record the Bishop's own verdict on the causes of his failure: " By insisting on the agrarian reforms ", he afterwards wrote, " I aroused the wrath of the landed aristocracy: by failing to carry them out I lost the support of the peasant masses ".[1]

Zog meanwhile had been joined in Belgrade by Tsena Bey Kryeziu, the head of a powerful Jakova clan which could boast of having given fourteen Pashas to the Ottoman Empire. Tsena had a numerous following among the Albanians on both sides of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, as well as friends in high places in Belgrade. He now made common cause with Zog, and together they plotted a counter-revolution. Zog rallied round him a group of Albanian *émigrés*, and with their help prepared the tribes inside Albania for a rising. Tsena meanwhile, with the approval of the Yugoslav authorities, raised and trained an army of Kossovars, who were to form the spearhead of the revolt. The Yugoslav Government abetted the conspiracy as a means of increasing their influence in Albania: they supplied Zog and Tsena with money and with arms, and stiffened their tribal levies with veterans from General Wrangel's White Russian army, which was then concentrated in Yugoslavia. The Powers closed their eyes to these unneighbourly proceedings, and, in December of 1924, Zog and Tsena marched into Albania at the head of their Kossovar and Russian troops.

[1] Quoted by J. Swire in *Albania: the Rise of a Kingdom*, p. 444.

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Their supporters rose in revolt; the government forces were defeated; and a fortnight later Zog occupied Tirana. Fan Noli escaped to Italy and later emigrated to the United States; Ali Klissura settled in Paris; and Mustafa Kruya went to Italy, where he became the goad with which in later years the Italians threatened Zog. These three were condemned to death *in contumaciam*; but most of the Tosk leaders were seemingly reconciled to the new regime.

It was widely expected that Zog would rule as the instrument of the Yugoslavs to whom he owed the success of his revolution[1] and indeed the powerful influence of Tsena, who was his brother-in-law as well as his Minister of Interior, was exercised in favour of friendship with Belgrade. The policy of a country, however, is more often the effect of its circumstances than their cause. The Yugoslavs had brought the new regime to power, but they were in no position to supply it with the financial and technical assistance without which it could scarcely be maintained. Of necessity, therefore, Zog inclined increasingly towards the Italians, who were quick to seize any opportunity of re-establishing their influence in Albania. Tsena Kryeziu, however, resolutely opposed a pro-Italian policy. He was first and foremost a Kossovar; and his whole purpose in supporting the revolt had been to restore good relations with Belgrade and so reduce the effects of the frontier barrier which separated his people from their fellow Albanians. His efforts, however, were doomed to failure by the inability of the Yugoslavs to compete against the financial support which the Italians offered to Zog. His influence swiftly declined; and, after the signing of the Pact of Tirana, Zog appointed him Albanian Minister in Belgrade, to remove him from the centre of affairs. It is possible that Tsena there conspired with the Yugoslavs to repeat against Zog the same revolutionary tactics as he had carried out with him against Fan Noli. Be this as it may, in October 1927 he was shot dead in a café in Prague by an Albanian student. The responsibility for the crime was commonly ascribed to Zog; and, though his complicity was never established, Tsena's brothers, Gani, Hassan, and Said, judged it prudent to emigrate to Yugoslavia.

[1] [Cf. category 669, pp. 17-19 for data on 1924 revolution — Analyst]

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643 Within a year of Tsena's murder Zog cemented his personal position by the assumption of the crown and style of King of the Albanians. The republican sympathies of the Tosk *beys* were disarmed by their mutual jealousies; and the new regime was established among the Ghegs by the efforts of a quadrumvirate of chiefs. These were Muharrem Bairaktar, Fikri Dine, Jemal Herri, and Prenk Previsi, who had all followed Zog into exile in Yugoslavia and had played an important part in the subsequent revolution. In the discharge of their duties they acquired considerable influence, but when they had served the royal purpose Zog broke their power, which might one day have challenged his own. In their place he installed new men, who proved more obedient to his wishes as they were more dependent upon his favour. Thus, in a period of five years, the royal dictatorship was made absolute.

648 315 Meanwhile Italian influence grew in Albania until the country's foreign relations and economic development came to be largely under Italian direction. Such a trend was indeed almost as inevitable in the economic as in the diplomatic sphere, for Albania possesses few natural resources which might have attracted the attention of other Powers. At one time, however, it appeared that the Albanian oil deposits might become of international interest; and an instructive tale is told of their emergence on the diplomatic scene. At one of the many international conferences which followed the last war, Albania was represented by Faik Bey Konitza, a man of considerable wit and distinction. Faik Bey was anxious to secure British support for his country's claims, and, after several unsuccessful applications, was reluctantly granted an interview by Lord Curzon. Curzon received Faik standing, and coldly invited him to be brief. The Albanian delegate bowed and replied:

"Your Excellency, in Albania there is oil."

Curzon's eyes lit up: "Sit down, my dear fellow," he said, suddenly unbending; and to the astonishment of the impatient secretaries their discussion was prolonged beyond the hour. Nor will the reader be surprised to learn that at the plenary session, next morning, the rights of a small nation were generously vindicated by the majestic eloquence of the British Foreign

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Secretary. *Si non è vero è ben trovato,* for a concession was in fact granted to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. For a variety of reasons, however, by no means exclusively commercial, the development of the oil-field was left to the Italians.

Italian influence in Albania was strong, but the King brooked little interference in the internal administration of the country. He drove hard bargains for every concession, insisted on retaining a British mission to train the gendarmerie, and gained from the Italians far more than he ever gave them. So long as Italy's ambitions were limited to assuring her predominance in the Adriatic such a situation was not unsatisfactory, for then her chief concern was to prevent other Powers extending their influence to Albania rather than to control the country herself. But when Mussolini decided that Albania should become the bridgehead from which his forces would march to the East, he was forced to recognise that Zog was of too independent a temper to serve this grand design. In April 1939, therefore, he decreed the invasion and annexation of Albania. The Italian landing at Durazzo was gallantly contested by the commandant of **Kruya**, a certain Abas Kupi. Otherwise there was no resistance. The King declined the unequal encounter and crossed into Greece with Queen Geraldine and their newborn son. From Greece he came by devious routes to Paris, and, after the fall of France, settled in London. The most loyal, or anti-Italian, of his subjects followed him into exile, and, for the most part, found hospitality in Yugoslavia or Turkey. Meanwhile, under the general amnesty proclaimed by the Italians, his chief opponents, including Ali Klissura and Mustafa Kruya, returned to Albania. An Italian Viceroy was installed in Tirana, the friends of Italy were rewarded, and a puppet government was set up on the bayonets of the invaders.

Zog had found Albania in chaos; he left her with at least the rudiments of a modern state. Roads had been built; the framework of an administration created; and order, if not law, enforced. The King governed, indeed, in the oriental tradition, but it was also the tradition of his people. He corrupted his enemies, or played them off one against the other, and adminis-

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643 tered justice less with regard for the law than with an understanding of when harshness or mercy would most impress the public mind. No doubt he favoured the Ghegs at the expense of the Tosks, and left unredeemed his repeated promises of agrarian reform. No ruler, however, can escape his special obligations to his supporters; and what is possible, rather than what is desirable, must always be the test by which a statesman is judged. It is no mean political achievement to have kept Albania united for fifteen years above the cross-currents of foreign intrigue and the shifting sands of her own domestic feuds. That is the real measure of Zog's capacity to rule; and the universal respect of his enemies is perhaps the surest title of his fame.

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as soon as they had driven the Italians from Albania, they would turn and rend one another. We smiled indulgently at such prophecies; not only out of scepticism but because, in the summer of 1940, the headaches of victory still seemed very remote.

Our chief concern at the time was for the leadership of the movement. Gani Kryeziu, as he himself admitted, had been too long in exile to assume the role of leader inside Albania, while Abas Kupi seemed barred from it by his illiteracy. To our surprise, however, Gani suggested that King Zog was the obvious choice, both by virtue of his personal ability and because, in a country as factious as Albania, the proud chiefs would more readily gather round the man whom they had once acknowledged as king than round some self-appointed leader. Abas Kupi somewhat naturally shared this view and so indeed did Mustafa Jinishi, who explained that his friends could wait for the defeat of Italy to settle their accounts with the King. This unexpected identity of views convinced us that Zog would make the best leader for the Albanian revolt; and we urged that arrangements be made to bring him in touch with the movement in Belgrade. The Foreign Office, however, hesitated to sanction any step which might commit us to the King's cause, so that the leadership of the United Front remained undefined.

The United Front was the fruit of long hours spent in patient planning in the extra-territorial security of the Legation and in conspiratorial meetings in dark corners of Belgrade. We changed these meeting-places continually, but our favourite was a deserted flat on the top story of a tall, modern building in the Kralya Milana. It was unfurnished, except for a rickety table and two benches abandoned by the owner; but through its dusty windows we could look out over the city to the Sava valley and the plain beyond. The climate of conspiracy is naturally productive of suspicions, and we used to take infinite precautions to preserve the secrecy of our meetings with the Albanian leaders. We would approach the rendezvous by devious routes; change taxis on the way; or leave our cars

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British officer since the German invasion. Kemp's presence in that disputed region had given rise to violent protests from the Yugoslav Partisans, who had insisted on his recall. He brought us, however, most welcome news, for he had personally spoken with Gani and Said Kryeziu in their hide-out in the mountains, and reported that their morale was high and their will to fight unimpaired, in spite of illness and long months of imprisonment.

In quest of further information on Albania we sought out Ekrem Bey Libohovo, who had been King Zog's Minister of Court but had deserted him to become one of the chief instruments of the Italian regime. Ekrem Bey had been Prime Minister of Albania at the time of Mussolini's fall and, judging that the moment had come to change sides once more, flew over to Rome on the eve of the armistice and chose to remain in the Allied zone. We drove over to see him at Lecce, where he was virtually interned, and learnt from him many interesting details of the past history of some of the leading Albanians and of the relationships between them. Such information, though of little value alone, was well worth acquiring; for it is only by the continual comparison of opinions and anecdotes that it becomes possible to assess the accuracy of political reports. On this occasion a curious incident enlivened our conversation. Ekrem Bey was relating the circumstances of the Italian invasion of Albania and spoke of his conduct at the time as he must so often have done to Italian visitors during the Fascist regime:

"As you know," he said, "when the Italians landed, the King left the country, and with him I went to Greece. . . . I went to Greece. . . . I went to Greece. . . ." He repeated himself like a broken record, suddenly at a loss to know how to extricate himself from the embarrassing story on which he had embarked: the truth was that, within forty-eight hours of arriving in Greece, he had returned to Tirana and become Italy's Quisling in Albania. At last he gave it up and with a wan smile and self-deprecating gesture said:

"I really must see what has happened to the coffee."

Verily the way of the transgressor is hard.

* [British Intelligence Agents, in April 1944 -- Analyst]

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or compounded and, above all, what sides the clan should take in the strife of political factions. Tsen Lezi had long been a supporter of Abas Kupi and he received us well.

It was already May, but in the mountains we had still lived amid the gales and snow of winter. Next morning, however, as we descended from Tsen Lezi's house, we came out of the mists into the sunlight and saw the broad Mati valley spread out below us like a promised land. Fat sheep and cattle grazed in the undulating pastures; whitewashed houses, the tallest in Albania, were scattered over the low, wooded hills; and beyond the sparkling river the ground rose steeply to the wild glens of Mirdita. The guerillas had not left the mountains since autumn; and now, at the sight of the sunlit valley, the long line of men winding down the hillside broke into a strident song. Presently Abas Kupi called a halt and we sat down to refresh our eyes with the view. Hitherto I had always looked on mountains as holiday grounds; but the guerillas' song touched some atavistic chord in me and for the first time I experienced the weary highlander's longing for the plain.

Mati was rich and populated, the region where the tribal system of the mountains mingled with the feudalism of the coastal plain. The land and flocks were still owned and worked in common by the different clans; but their chiefs were already known as *Beys*; and the wealthier among them employed hired labour and rented out some of their fields to poorer families. The men of Mati were reputed devout Moslems and, as is often the way of the pious, they lived well; renowned for their lavish hospitality and comfortably appointed houses. They had prospered especially under the monarchy; for King Zog was a man of Mati and his first care had been for the people of his valley. Many, though they could not read nor write, had been given appointments in the civil service; and, following the tradition of the Turks, Zog had conferred reserve commissions on most of the *Beys*. This was not indeed to compel them to military service, but to bind them more closely to his cause by the payment of an honourable and regular pension. The valley had benefited, moreover, from an ambitious programme of public works; a road and

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[653] several bridges had been built; and Burrel had been made the model provincial capital of Albania. The grateful memory 643 of these past benefits and a just pride in their king's achievements in a broader field were fortified by the lapse in the payment of pensions which had followed his expulsion. The men of Mati were thus staunch for King Zog; we found his picture in almost every house we visited, and at night, sitting round the fire, listened to tales of his adventures and even epic poems celebrating his exploits. There were of course exceptions, as I learned one night when I asked a veteran chieftain why he had embraced the Zogist cause. The cunning old warrior eyed me closely and answered with a wealth of meaning: "I am a monarchist in case the King should come back."

*669 Our progress through the valley was leisurely and public, and indeed was intended by Abas Kupi as a demonstration to show the Zogist flag and to parade the new British Mission — the outward and visible sign of Allied support. We had brought horses with us, but the marches were short, and Abas Kupi always went on foot with his men. As a mark of respect, therefore, we left our bodyguards to lead our beasts and followed his example. We marched escorted by a bodyguard of a hundred picked guerillas, a force sufficient both to overawe any local opposition and to prevent the Germans from attacking us with anything less than a battalion. Of this indeed there was little risk; for the bridges over the Mati had been blown in the rising against the Italians, and an enemy would have had to leave his transports at the entrance to the valley. We should thus have had ample warning of his approach and would have ambushed him, or dispersed into the hills. The Germans, however, wisely preferred to let sleeping dogs lie. They knew that Abas Kupi's relations with the Partisans were strained, and, despite the presence of British officers in his camp, had no intention of diverting him from his domestic conflicts by an ill-timed and provocative attack.

000 We passed through rolling fields and leafy forests; and each day brought us to some new village where we were feasted by the clans. Their houses varied in size nd archi-

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Germans. I had been waiting for this opening and asked :

" Do you hold a reconciliation between the Partisans and Nationalist leaders like Abas Kupi to be possible ? "

" Yes, if they will fight the Germans as we do."

" Can they be persuaded to fight again ? "

" I fear there is only one way. If Zog will come to the radio and tell them to fight, then they will. You know that I have worked against him all my life, but I tell you now that he is the only man who can raise the Ghegs and so prevent civil war."

We finished talking towards midnight, when I took leave of Aqif and of my hosts ; for, unless I crossed the Drin before daybreak, I should be delayed on the west bank until the following night. The crossing was guarded by a gendarmerie post ; and the river was in spate. My obol, however, won the favour of the aged ferryman, who punted us over on a raft right under the nose of the sleeping gendarmes. A guide from Aziz Dino Hoja led the way beyond the river and I was followed by Kolaver, my personal bodyguard. This Kolaver was a lean and wolfish fellow, and a source of constant anxiety to my companions. He had started life as a brigand, but in the time of King Zog had turned gendarme, not indeed from any change of heart, but because he appreciated that, under a strong government, only the police can rob with impunity. When the Italians had invaded Albania he had returned to the mountains, judging that under their laxer rule it would be more profitable as well as more patriotic to pursue his calling after the manner of his youth. In those troubled times, however, brigandage proved a hard life ; and a solid if unusual interest in the King's restoration had led him to join Abas Kupi. He had attached himself to me during our progress through Mati, and at an early stage had been caught stealing in our camp. Abas Kupi had threatened him with death, but I had interceded on his behalf, because he was a gay rogue, and had saved him from his deserts by accepting responsibility for his future conduct. Thereafter he protected my belongings as if they had been the Holy Grail, and attended to my campaigning comforts with almost motherly devotion. Other people's

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VI

WAR ON TWO FRONTS

000 The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet had he balanced the consequences of submission and resistance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderberg might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the Pope, the King of Naples and the Venetian Republic would join in the defence of a free and Christian people who guarded the sea coast of the Adriatic and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy.

GIBBON: *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (Chapter LXVII)

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*669 ● 643 701 THE affairs of the Albanian Nationalists drew swiftly on towards their crisis. On the 18th August Fikri Dine and General Prenk Previsi, the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, drove out from Tirana and were conducted to Abas Kupi's headquarters. It was only a few days since Fikri had cut off the funds and food supplies of the Zogists in a last attempt to compel Abas Kupi's submission to his government. Now he and the General were come almost as suppliants to confess their failure to obtain arms or money from the Germans and their conviction that there was nothing more to be hoped for from a policy of "collaboration". They had played the German card against the Partisans and lost. Now they turned naturally to Abas Kupi to sound him as to his hopes of British support and to learn whether they might still save their skins by rallying to his cause.

*669 186 This was the moment for which Abas Kupi had been waiting through all the years of his struggle in the mountains. In his eyes the creation of a resistance movement and the search for an agreement with the Allied Mission had been but

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preparations for the day when he could call all Albanians to a general revolt against an enemy too weak ever to regain the initiative. Then, but only then, the military advantage would lie with the insurgents, and the ravages of war would be redeemed by the fruits of victory: power for the leaders and loot for the rank and file. Once before, at the time of the collapse of Italy, he had believed that the time had come and had thrown all his forces into a general revolt. Then, if events had favoured the guerillas, he might have been the arbiter of Albania's destinies, for he had been strong in his own following and had held the balance of power between the Ballists and the Partisans. In those days he had meant to give the "collaborationists" short shrift; but since then the civil war had taken a heavy toll of his strength, and he was now in no position to reject reinforcements from whatever quarter they might come. Fikri and his friends still represented a force to be reckoned with, and, in the eyes of many, their "collaboration" had been all but justified by the fear of Communism which had inspired it. Besides, once they had joined him in the mountains, they would be in his power, and he would be the master. With their support he would make good the losses of the civil war and might hope to do great execution among the retreating Germans. Thereafter the British could no longer refuse him their help, and he would thus be strong enough to compel Enver Hoja to come to terms.

Abas Kupi therefore proposed to his two visitors that the leaders of the Government and of the Balli Kombetar should leave Tirana with all their forces and join him in the mountains to attack the Germans. If they complied he would give them his protection and allocate to them a share of such supplies as he might receive from the British. If they refused he would still take the field alone, but would then regard them as his enemies. All afternoon the three debated this proposal and the Prime Minister and the Commander-in-Chief saw little alternative but to accept. Bitter experience, however, had taught them to distrust the friendship of Great Powers, and, before committing themselves to the precarious refuge of the mountains, they wanted to be sure that Abas Kupi's hopes of

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British support were more likely of fulfilment than those which they had once founded upon the Germans. They asked, therefore, for assurances that the British command would support their operations with military supplies, and would view their defection to the Allied cause with favour. If the Agha could obtain such assurances from the British Mission they would accept his proposal, and he might count on them as on his own men.

As soon as Fikri and the General were gone, Abas Kupi despatched a messenger to summon us to an urgent meeting. Accordingly we set out in Ihsan's carriage on the following evening, and, driving through the night along dusty cart tracks, reached the lonely farm-house where the Agha slept. The hour was too late for discussions, but next morning we went out together to a cool and shaded apple orchard where the master of the house had spread bright-coloured rugs for our conference. There Abas Kupi told us of his meeting with the "collaborationist" leaders and declared himself ready, despite the civil war, to attack the Germans as soon as we should give the assurances which Fikri had required. His proposal corresponded closely to our own most sanguine expectations, but we heard him with affected reserve; for we could not tell what would be the reactions of the staff officers in Bari. We saw, however, that the Agha himself was excited by the prospect of action, and to allay his impatience at once drew up a report for our Headquarters which was enciphered and transmitted in his presence. In this we admitted that British encouragement for the projected concentration of Nationalists under Abas Kupi's command might feed fuel to the flames of civil war. At the same time we were sure that it would contribute to the discomfiture of the Germans, who might otherwise make good their retreat through North Albania with little loss. We also pointed out that the entry of the Nationalists into the war against Germany would provide us with a last opportunity for intervening to stop the civil war and to prevent the incorporation of Albania in the Soviet system.

When our business was done and we had eaten we left the orchard and went our several ways: Abas Kupi to Kurbenesh to negotiate alliances with its chiefs; Ihsan to Tirana to keep

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to attack the Germans. Meanwhile, leaving Maclean and myself at Topise, Smiley set out with Zogist guides to reconnoitre the approaches to Durazzo.

That night, when we had gone, Fikri Dine, General Prenk Previsi, and representatives of the Balli Kombetar drove out from Tirana to the Agha's headquarters to learn of our reply. Their discussions lasted through the night, but before dawn the die was cast. They returned to the capital, and, at noon on the 29th August, Fikri Dine announced the resignation of his government in a proclamation which declared that his efforts to save Albania from Communism had been frustrated by the total absence of German support.

The resignation of the government was the signal for the political leaders to disperse, and completed the isolation of the Germans. They sought to persuade, and at length to compel, the loyalty of their former associates, but when they struck the birds had already flown. Fikri Dine made his way to Dibra, hoping to raise the tribes to his support, but the Partisans were already masters of the region, and the chiefs who had been his friends had gone over to the winning side. For some days he wandered as an outlaw through the lands he had once swayed; but his utmost efforts only rallied to his cause some two hundred men, the remnants of the Dibran gendarmerie. With these he then retired through Mirdita to the Catholic region of Kurbenesh, which lies to the west of Mati. Kurbenesh was the seat of Prenk Previsi's influence, and there Fikri found the general with a body of picked officers and men of the Albanian army. Their combined following was less than five hundred strong — all that remained of the Albanian armed forces.

The Ballist leaders meanwhile hesitated to entrust themselves to the Gheg chieftains and went into hiding near, or even in, Tirana, to wait until their forces should arrive from the South. Midhat Frasheri and Ali Klissura were variously reported held or shot by the Germans, but when the smoke of rumour cleared it was found that they were in Shiyak. There Abas Ermenye, the movement's energetic military commander, was concentrating the remnants of the Ballist forces, which presently amounted to some eight hundred men.

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which presently amounted to some eight hundred men.

In Tirana the Germans sought desperately for friends among the Albanians; at last, on 6th September, they succeeded in forming the shadow of a government under the presidency of Ibrahim Bey Bichaku. The new administration, however, could not rely on a hundred men; and Ibrahim was recommended for office solely by the affection of the German Minister, with whom he played ping-pong every day. As if to mock the impotence of this government Mustafa Kruya, the "arch-collaborationist", now left for Vienna, never to return. Only Jon Marko Joni still hesitated, but he too abandoned the capital and retired to Scutari to watch the fortunes of the Zogists. The days of "collaboration" were over, and Tirana was become nothing but a German redoubt.

Meanwhile the Moslem North was up in arms. The Partisans had overrun Dibra; and the Dibran chiefs, many of them former "collaborationists", had been won over to the L.N.C. by their own incomparable opportunism and the wise diplomacy of Mustafa Jinishi. Tsen Elezi and Dan Kalloshi abandoned the Double Eagle for the Red Star; and, under Partisan direction, their forces were variously engaged in the civil war or the war of liberation. Further north in Liuma Muharrem Bairaktar had already taken the field in the last days of August. He had prepared his attack for some weeks and was finally stung to action by an ultimatum from the German commander in Kukes, who demanded the surrender of two Austrian officers who had deserted from their regiment and had sought his protection. The Partisans had not yet entered Liuma, but Muharrem had already conferred with Mustafa Jinishi, and, though he declined to join the L.N.C., he had agreed to full military co-operation with their forces.

But the fiercest struggle against the Germans in all Albania was led by Gani Kryeziu and his brother, Hassan, with the help of Simcox and his Mission. Since the end of July Gani had been receiving arms from our Headquarters; and the communiqués of his operations were broadcast in the Albanian transmissions of Radio Bari. His influence grew with his successes and the knowledge that he enjoyed British support;

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000 son had been killed in the R.A.F. raid on Petch. The tradition of hospitality, however, proved stronger than a father's resentment; he feasted us on sucking pig and grapes, and placed his house at our disposal. There, in the evening, we were joined 643 by Abas Kupi, who came with Fikri Dine and the leaders of the Balli Kombetar.

Fikri was stocky and dark, with grey, rather lifeless eyes and a greedy mouth. He looked tough; his speech was blunt; his manner arrogant. He was not, however, without subtlety, and we found him possessed of a distinct sense of humour. The first encounter with British officers must have been embarrassing, for a former " collaborationist " premier, but, to our great relief, Fikri sought neither to explain nor to excuse his conduct. Instead he told us the history of his attempts to procure arms and money from the Germans, and, with disarming frankness and a touch of irony, described the causes of his failure. He had tried to exploit them for his own ends, and his only regret was that his intrigues had been foiled. There is an element of exploitation in all politics, and Fikri's rage at being made himself the dupe was so sincere that it could not but compel a certain professional sympathy. When he had done with the past he questioned me anxiously about British policy towards Albania, and his own verdict was not perhaps mistaken.

"I know," he said, " that you English have an interest in our country because we have a sea coast and you are a sea power. Many of us count on that, but I have learnt from bitter experience that in politics little interests are often sacrificed to greater ones."

701 With Fikri came General Prenk Previsi, the Commander-in-Chief of the Albanian army and the paramount influence in Kurbenesh. He was a dark, rather weak-faced man, and wore a blue-green field uniform with red facings and highly polished riding-boots. We thought him a light-opera general, but as yet he took little part in proceedings and remained in the background, surrounded by a group of down-at-heel staff officers.

665 In Malibardhe we also met for the first time Ali Bey Klissura, who stood second only to Midhat Frasheri in the Balli Kombetar. A powerful landowner from the south, Ali

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with him at the beginning of the civil war. Such recriminations might appear academic, but they disguised a natural and urgent conflict of interests. The two parties could no longer help each other in Albania; they might soon rend each other in exile; and, now that resistance had ceased, Zogists and Ballists appeared as rivals for British favour, rather than as allies against the Partisans. The Agha had resolved to dissociate himself from men who had "collaborated" with the Germans, but the Ballists still hoped to shelter behind his name. We never asked what passed between them that day; but, when their meeting was over, the Ballist leaders bade us farewell and returned towards the mountains looking like condemned men.

Midhat and Ali were followed by Fikri Dine, who came to discuss the advantages of resistance or flight, and to enquire what reception he might expect from the British if he should land in Italy. Despite his defection to our side we could offer little encouragement to a former "Quisling"; and the Agha advised him to win back in the mountains the reputation he had lost in Tirana. He left us to return to Dibra, but our camp remained a rallying-point for Nationalists of every kind who clung instinctively to Abas Kupi. Among them came a delegation from the Catholic mountaineers of the Maltsia i Madhe, inviting him to organise their resistance against the Partisans. Abas Kupi received them in our presence and declined their proposal, saying:

"It would be against the wishes of the British, and, though they may forsake me, yet I will never turn against them."

5

THE weather had been fine when we came down into the plain; but October is the malarial season, and our nights were plagued by innumerable mosquitoes. Our supplies of quinine were long since exhausted, but we were luckily spared the fever which ravaged the ranks of our Turkomans and Albanians. At first we spent the days out of doors, resting on the bright coloured rugs which our host would spread for us in the sun-

[Constitution]

nation and state, and exercises all the sovereign rights under the constitution with the exception of those rights which the constitution itself has assigned to the Presidium of the People's Convention or to the government. 646

ARTICLE 39

Legislative powers are exercised only by the People's Convention.

ARTICLE 40

The People's Convention is elected by all the citizens, with one representative for every 20,000 people. [666]

ARTICLE 41

The People's Convention is elected for four years.

ARTICLE 42

At the beginning of each session the People's Convention elects a president, vice-president and secretary. The president presides over the meetings according to the rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 43

The People's Convention is called by a decree of the Presidium in ordinary and extraordinary sessions. [643]

Ordinary sessions meet twice annually, March 15 and October 15. If the People's Convention is not called on these two dates, it will meet on its own initiative and without a decree of the Presidium.

Extraordinary sessions of the People's Convention are called when the Presidium deems it necessary or when one-third of the members request its convocation.

ARTICLE 44

The People's Convention makes its own rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 45

No bill can become a law until it is passed by the relative majority in a session when the majority of its members take part.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 52

The constitution can be changed or amended only by the People's Convention. 642

Bills for changes or amendments in the constitutions may be proposed by the Presidium, the Government, or by two-fifths of the members of the People's Convention.

Changes or amendments to the constitution must be passed by an absolute majority of the members of the Convention.

(b) *The Presidium of the People's Convention*

643

ARTICLE 53

The People's Convention elects its own Presidium which shall consist of a president, two-vice-presidents, a secretary, and seven members.

ARTICLE 54

The Presidium of the People's Convention has the following duties:

1. It calls the People's Convention.
2. It designates the elections for the Popular Convention.
3. It makes authentic interpretations as to the constitutionality of the laws. These interpretations are then submitted to the People's Convention for approval.
4. It makes authentic interpretations of the laws and issues decrees.
5. It promulgates the laws passed by the Convention.
6. It exercises the right of pardon in accordance with the prescriptions of the law.
7. It awards decorations and honorary titles upon recommendation of the Prime Minister.
8. It ratifies international treaties, except when it considers it necessary for ratification to be made by the People's Convention.

[Constitution]

643

9. It appoints and recalls envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to foreign countries upon recommendation of the Government.
10. It accepts credentials and letters of recall from foreign diplomats.
11. It proclaims general mobilization and declare war in case of armed aggression against the People's Republic of Albania between the two sessions of the People's Convention; in case of urgent necessity it fullfills international obligations of the Republic to the international peace organizations or allied nations.
12. It appoints and dismisses ministers between the two sessions of the People's Convention upon recommendation of the Prime Minister.
13. It appoints assistant ministers upon recommendation of the Prime Minister.
14. It creates commissions within the government and designates their chairmen upon recommendation of the Prime Misister.
15. It assigns duties to a ministry or to a government commission.
16. On the basis of decisions made by the People's Convention or upon recommendation of the government, it submits various questions to a popular referendum.

The decrees of the Presidium of the People's Convention are signed by the president and by the secretary.

ARTICLE 55

643 646 The Presidium of the People's Convention is responsible for its activities to the People's Convention. The Convention may revoke its Presidium and replace it by another; it may dismiss some members and replace them by others before their term expires.

ARTICLE 56

When the People's Convention is dissolved, the Presidium

9: Albania (no date) 1946 EG1 Albania EG1

[Constitution]

continues in power until another People's Convention elects a new Presidium. 646 643

The Presidium convokes the People's Convention within one month after its election.

TITLE II

Administrative Organs of the State

ARTICLE 57

The Government is the highest executive and administrative organ of the People's Republic of Albania. 645

The government is appointed and dismissed by the People's Convention.

The government is responsible to the People's Convention and must account to it for its activities. Between the two sessions of the People's Convention the government is responsible to the Presidium of the Convention before which it must render full account of its activities.

ARTICLE 58

The government performs its duties according to the constitution and the laws. The government issues the decrees necessary for carrying out laws on the basis of a special authorization; it gives binding instructions for the execution of laws.

Orders, decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government must be signed by the Prime Minister and the minister in charge of the department concerned.

ARTICLE 59

The government directs and coordinates the functioning of the ministries, committees, and all other institutions which come under its jurisdiction.

The government outlines the economic plan of the state, submits the annual budget to the People's Convention for its approval, and supervises its execution; directs the credit and monetary systems; takes all necessary measures to uphold the constitution and the rights of all citizens; directs all military forces; keeps in touch with foreign governments; carries out treaties with foreign countries and other international obliga-

and his assistants are appointed by the People's Convention. 693

District attorneys of the prefectures and subprefectures are appointed by the Attorney General. [646]

ARTICLE 86

All district attorneys are independent of the local governmental units and are responsible only to the Attorney General, from whom they receive orders and instructions.

ARTICLE 87

District attorneys are authorized to initiate penal actions and also to exercise the right of appeal as well as the right to intervene during a judicial or administrative trial. [692] District attorneys can exercise the right of appeal against summary decisions of the courts and other administrative organs when such decisions are illegal.

ARTICLE 88

The district attorney of the military courts of the national army of the People's Republic of Albania and other military attorneys are appointed by the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Republic. [701]

TITLE V

Relation Between the Executive and Administrative Departments

ARTICLE 89

The Presidium of the People's Convention may annul or suspend decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government when they are unconstitutional and illegal. 642

The government may annul or suspend decrees, ordinances, instructions and decisions of ministers when they are contrary to the laws, decrees, instructions and decisions of the government.

ARTICLE 90

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may suspend any illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils. 643 631

[Constitution]

643 631 The government or the ministers may annul or suspend any illegal or irregular act of the executive committees. The higher executive committees have the same right over the lower executive committees.

The people's councils may annul or suspend any illegal or irregular act of their own executive committees.

The government and the executive committees of the higher people's councils may suspend the execution of every illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils or may propose the annulment of such acts.

ARTICLE 91

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may dissolve the lower people's councils and authorize new elections. Likewise they may suspend executive committees of the lower people's councils and order elections of new executive committees.

TITLE VI

The National Army

ARTICLE 92

701 The National Army is the armed force of the People's Republic of Albania. Its duty is to defend the independence of the state and the freedom of the people.

The army defends the frontiers of the state and guarantees internal peace and security.

ARTICLE 93

The Supreme Commander of the armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania is appointed by the People's Convention.

The Supreme Commander directs all the armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania.

PART THREE

The Seal, Flag, and Capital City

186

ARTICLE 94

The seal of the People's Republic of Albania depicts a field

[Constitution]

enclosed by two sheaves of wheat. The sheaves are tied at the bottom with a ribbon on which is written the date, May 24, 1944. 186

Between the tips of the ears of wheat there is a red pentagonic star. In the center of the field is a black double-headed eagle.

ARTICLE 95

The official flag of the People's Republic of Albania has a red field, in the center of which is a black double-headed eagle. Over the eagle is a pentagonic star, embroidered in gold. The length and breadth of the flag is one by one and forty.

ARTICLE 96

The capital city of the People's Republic of Albania is Tirana. 633

Tirana, March 14, 1946

The Secretary
Sali Mborja

The President of the Constituent Assembly
(signed) Tuk Jakova

Presidium of the Constituent Assembly

Decree No. 24

Tirana, March 15, 1946

Promulgation of the Constitution of The People's Republic of Albania

According to Law No. 195 of January 12, 1946, the Presidium of the Constituent Assembly decrees the promulgation of the constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, as approved by the Constituent Assembly of March 14, 1946. 643

Dr. Omer Nishani
General Lt. Kochi Xoxe
General Major Myslim Peza
Nako Spiru
Sami Baholli
General Col. Enver Hoxha
Dr. Medar Shtylla
Prof. S. Maleshova,
Col. Ramadan Chitaku
Dr. Manol Konomi
Hasan Pulo
Qiriako Harito
Pandi Kristo

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EGI

Communism came to this land not because of the abuses of capitalism or because of a yearning of workers to unite, but through a political movement which developed against the background of the World War. The independence of the country and the inviolability of its boundaries were guaranteed by the peace treaties after the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. At the same time the Great Powers held that Italy had a special diplomatic and strategic stake in the welfare of her neighbor across the Adriatic Sea. As a result Italian interests in Albania expanded greatly after 1920, and to every intent and purpose the foreign trade of the two countries was pooled. But Yugoslavia naturally sought to challenge the primacy of Italy in the Adriatic area, and its support is held to have largely made it possible for Ahmed Zogu, Prime Minister in a government constituted as a Regency, to take over the rule of the country during 1924. Shortly thereafter, a Republic was proclaimed, and Zogu was elected President for a term of seven years. A skillful diplomat and political leader, he improved relations with both Greece and Yugoslavia, and signed the Treaty of Tirana in 1926 with Italy. This, accompanied by a sizable grant of financial assistance from Italian banks, gave recognition to the common interest of both countries in maintaining the independence of Albania. A year later they entered a defensive alliance. When it was alleged that these developments conceded to Mussolini rights which he exploited unduly, Zogu curbed the opposition with dramatic swiftness. He proclaimed himself King, on September 1, 1928, and was responsible for a constitution which recognized no political liberties but insured freedom of religion. Zogu, a benevolent dictator, made an honest effort to improve the cultural and economic life of the country, building roads, fostering health and hygiene, erecting schools, fighting a vigorous battle against illiteracy,

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EGI

648 and modernizing the banking system. Albania even acquired
643 a radio station, and air travel became a reality. The King
175 brought in foreign experts, particularly Austrians. Some of them I have known; and while they had the usual reservations about the political institutions of Albania, they respected his energy and sincerity of social purpose.

648 At this point Mussolini was unfortunately smitten with
175 irrational imperialist ambition: if Hitler could have his empire of the master race, he himself was called upon to reconstruct the dominions of ancient Rome. Italian troops landed in Albania on April 7, 1939, shortly after the fall of France. They quickly overpowered the small defense army, and Zogu had to seek refuge abroad. The crown was thereupon offered to King Victor Emmanuel III, of Italy, who docilely accepted it. It is worth noting that the reception accorded the Italians was not too unfriendly, because some sections of the population expected to profit from the political change. Using Albania as an advance base, the Duce attacked Greece on October 28, 1940; but the valiant Greeks put his armies to rout and occupied nearly half of Albania. The Germans, defeating Yugoslavia, took over the rest of Albania, but confined themselves to routine control. Two resistance movements were formed, the one pro-Zogu and primarily against Italy, and the other Communist with the Germans as its principal target. The second, the National Liberation Front, was the stronger, primarily because it boldly drafted men into its partisan forces and because it maintained ruthless discipline. British commandos in the Adriatic therefore quite naturally aided it. As a result, the Front was able to assume control of
175 the country as soon as the Germans retreated.

648 The provisional government formed by General Enver
642 Hoxha, commander in chief of the National Liberation Front, was recognized by the United States, Great Britain, and Rus-

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

Ahmed Zogou

Ahmed Zogou is still in the early thirties. He is a strong 643
man and consequently has enemies, and several attempts have already been made upon his life. The story goes that on one occasion he was shot at and wounded in two places whilst presiding at a sitting of the Chamber. Taking his revolver from his pocket he placed it on the table in front of him and proceeded with the business in hand—whereupon

FETCHING WATER

the deputies as one man rose to their feet with arms upraised. They were taking no chances.

The Hotel Internationale being full, I obtained quarters 485
at the Hotel Continental.[1] This is the hotel fancied by the English and is run on modern lines. It even possesses that extreme rarity, a bathroom—probably, with the exception of one at the British Legation, the only one in

[1] [in Tirana -- Analyst] 121

124 elders,[4] 8 *bairaktars*,[5] and 5 retainers of a tribal
619 prince, Jon Markajon of Mirdita (fig. 10, *a*). Except for the chief elder of Karashegeç in
[463] Has, who was a baker, all of the elders, chief elders, and *bairaktars* were farmers. The baker was "mayor" of a village of bakers, outside the mountain area. All of these men were locals, born of local fathers and mothers taken from within the father's tribe. Preferences are thus shown for (a) agriculture as against handicrafts or trade, and (b) local as against outside descent.

Jon Markajon, the only tribal chief whom we met, and who entertained us very well at his capital in Orosh, would not allow us to measure him, although he summoned all of his subjects from nearby villages. The 5 retainers whom we measured in his house constituted his princely staff. Three of them were part-time farmers, and 2, full-time political employees. What their exact duties and titles
619 were, we did not determine. The ancient
642 tribal government of Ghegnia, if we may judge by the example of Mirdita, the one tribe in which it survived more or less intact until 1929, consisted of a graded hierarchy with three steps—elders and their chief, *bairaktars*, and tribal prince. Attached to the prince was his staff of special messengers, chamberlains, and guards.

The tribal government was in the hands of the prince and his council, which consisted of all of the elders of the tribe, with their chief elders, and the *bairaktars*. The heads of large and powerful households, even if they held no
[623] formal office, would be included. The council met in cases of murder within the tribe, of intertribal warfare, invasion, or other crises involving violence. It also met to decide on its own composition, i.e., to hear the petitions of neighboring *bairaks* to join it.

619 The strength of the prince as compared to
643 that of the council depended on the former's personality. During the last 50 years, for example, Mirdita has been ruled by the following princes: Bib Doda, a great and powerful man who died about 1913; Preng Bib Doda, his son, who was killed shortly after in a blood

[4] Nine from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Has, 4 Mirdita, 4 Zadrima, 3 Mati, and 1 Dibra.

[see cat. 116, p. 110 -- analyst]

619 643 feud; his cousin, Marka Gjoni, a weak character; his son, Jon Markajon, the incumbent in 1929, a man powerful enough to maintain the tribal system in defiance of the central government, to have his men exempted from military service and taxation, and to exact from Ahmed Zog an annual stipend in return for which he would keep his men quiet.

634 619 Each tribe in Ghegnia is an aggregation of *bairaks*. In 1929 we found 13 *bairaks* in Malsia e Madhe, 6 in Dukagin, 7 in Malsia e Jakovës, 2 in Has, 5 in Luma, 7 in Puka, 5 in Mirdita, one in Zadrima, 4 in Mati, 4 in Dibra, making 54 in all. The names of these, as recorded on our measurement blanks, are:

Malsia e Madhe: Klementi, Gruda, Hoti, Kastrati, Koplik, Greisha, Shkrelli, Riola, Reçi, Loya, Postripa, Triepsh, and Kraja.
Dukagin: Shoshi, Shala, Kiri, Dushman, Pulati, Toplana.
Malsia e Jakovës: Krasniqi, Gashi, Bituç, Marina, Vunshaj, Merturi, Nakaj.
Has: Vlana, Ershan.
Luma: Biçani, Kalishi, Ujmisht, Dolovisht, Çaja (Gorë, a Serbian-speaking *bairak*, is sometimes also counted with Luma).
Puka: Kabash, Puka, Çerer, Mal i Zi, Berisha, Buxhon, Iballja.
Mirdita: Dibri, Fan, Orosh, Speç, Kushnen.
Zadrima: Zadrima.
Mati: Mat, Lura, Kthella, Selita.
Dibra: Reçi, Stashani, Sheheri Poshtar, Sheheri Epert.

This list cannot be wrong in the cases of Puka and Mirdita, for the members of these tribes use the names *shtat bairaket* and *pes bairaket*, meaning *seven bairaks* and *five bairaks*, to designate their tribes. In Luma, Malsia e Jakovës, and Malsia e Madhe the picture is complicated by the presence of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, which not only cuts through *bairaks*, but has caused wholesale migrations and flights within the lifetimes of the subjects measured. Dozens of *fis* of a few households each have shifted about, and it is hard to tell to which *bairak* each belonged at the time the series was measured.

619 634 114 Miss Durham, who made her observations between 1908–13, some 20 years ahead of

* Three from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Malsia e Jakovës, 1 Puka, 1 Mirdita, 2 Dibra. All of these except the Mirdita man bore reserve titles.

175 a few roads and bridges, and found time to do some anthropometry.

642 After the war Albania became a republic, with a parliament. Feudal and tribal, illiterate and immobilized by the lack of roads, the people were not prepared for self-government.

● 643 After a number of violent episodes Ahmed Zog, son of the *bairaktar* of Mat in the tribe of Mati, became dictator, and in 1929 proclaimed himself king. Hated by the people of Elbasan because he had jilted the daughter of Verlatsi, their most prominent citizen, he was despised by his fellow mountaineers and by the Tosks as well, most of whom saw in his rule a threat to their freedom. On the rare occasions when he dared leave his palace, he had all roofs and windows searched and guarded, and even the cypress trees searched; and then he sent a double ahead of him.

He did, however, make a number of wise moves. One was to employ Colonel Stirling, famed as a companion of Lawrence in Arabia, as his personal adviser. Another was to employ General von Mirdach of the Austrian army to set up his military machine. A third was to give the British General Percy a free

625 hand in organizing a gendarmerie. General Percy brought with him a staff of British officers, which included Colonel Martin and Major Glegg. These experienced men selected an elite group of mountaineers to police the highroads, and to report and put down trouble. For the first time in history someone was taking intelligent steps to rid the mountains of feuding.

[124] We measured 62 of these gendarmes, all local men. Twenty-one came from Luma, 17 from Mati, 10 from Puka, 6 from Malsia e Jakovës, 4 from Dibra, 3 from Dukagin, and one from Malsia e Madhe. The British officers very wisely used Ghegs in Gheg country. To have introduced outsiders would have made trouble. Many of the men were serving within their own tribes and *bairaks*; too often they were in blood elsewhere. This new occupation for mountaineers gave them a chance to see more of the world than before, for they were required to train in Tirana or Scutari. Although the gendarme system made little or no direct change in the genetics of the mountaineers, for these men marry as their fathers

[World War I -- Analyst]

625 did, it let in new traders, craftsmen, and government officials, by the mere fact that the gendarmes secured the road and put down banditry.

631 643 In a vain attempt to deal the tribal system a deathblow, King Zog abolished all of the old divisions and boundaries, and all of the old system of government. He divided Albania into provinces, deliberately cutting across tribes and *bairaks* and ignoring natural geographical frontiers as completely as did the 1913 boundary commission.[1] Kukës and Peshkopia became centers of administration, as did a remote hamlet in Mati named Bureli. In these new places he set up prefects and secretaries and soldiers.

124 We measured one "secretary of commune" in Mirdita, whom the tribesmen ignored. He was a native of Elbasan. He employed a local man to guard the telephone line, his only link with the extra-feudal world. In Bureli we measured a secretary of court and a schoolteacher, both Mati natives. Others whom we did not measure were outsiders. In Kukës we measured a government clerk, a schoolteacher, and a turnkey in the jail. In Peshkopia our score was 3 government clerks, 2 Big Dibra men and one local; a secretary of court, from Big Dibra; and a local country schoolteacher.

These 7 civil service employees whom we included in our series were all the products of the imposition of Zog's government on the Mountain Ghegs. Of these only 4 came from outside the area. Three of these were part of the group that fled Big Dibra after 1913.

000 The history of the mountain people of northern Albania since 1930, while interesting, is beyond the scope of this report. Some later anthropologist may study it with profit to discover the changes, technological, institutional, and anatomical, which may have taken place since our series was measured. Before moving on, we offer the following summary of the

105 preceding chapters:[2]

1. As far as we know these mountains were uninhabited before 500 B.C. They were first effectively settled at this time or a little later by Illyrian-speaking Hallstatt Iron Age people moving southward and eastward from Bosnia.

2. The majority of the Hallstatt people in

[1] [See cat 116, p. 46a -- Analyst]

[2] [See cat 116, pp. 3 b-46a -- Analyst] -47a-

Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

000 which we know the least; and much of what we think we know is rumor or conjecture.

Albanians are accustomed to having the world know little about their affairs, and are even accustomed to the rôle of satellite—though their national spirit, which exists in spite of the vivacity of their religious and tribal conflicts, forbids one from saying that they are reconciled to it. The last time I was in the country, a good many years ago, Italy and Jugoslavia were contending for predominance. Italy won, expelled King Zog and in 1939 annexed the country. Ciano has recorded the arrival in Rome of the sad-faced group of Albanians summoned to make obeisance to the Duce, lacking only the iron collars of the slaves that used to grace the old imperial triumphs. But after Mussolini was hung up by his heels and Tito was accepted as one of the Allied victors all this was rectified. The new 665 Albanian dictator, Enver Hoxha (pronounced Hodzha), was a ●643 Communist guerrilla who had been in contact with the Jugoslav 648 Partisans during the war. Indeed, an emissary from Tito, Miladin Popovich, is credited with having organized the Albanian Communists into a unified party in November 1941. Hoxha was an original member, and Tito's influence over him, dating from that time, endured until the Cominform row broke the Communist world front in 1948. Though Hoxha was never Tito's creature to the extent that the successors to Zog had been Mussolini's, he looked to Jugoslavia from the start for almost everything in the way of practical relief, technical assistance and even funds. From Moscow he received, apart from a small military mission, only remote ideological control and the prestige of enjoying at second hand the patronage which Stalin accorded Tito.

000 While Jugoslavia herself was an obedient satellite this seemed to be satisfactory to Moscow. Soviet enthusiasm for what was being done in Albania was reflected in the Moscow press. Take, for example, this report published in *Trud* in April 1948 from a special correspondent who had just visited the country:

> In the Democratic Front, a political organization has been created that unites all the forces of the people. . . . Agrarian reform has been effected, putting an end to the feudal system of landownership. . . . Industrial enterprises, transportation, communications, etc., in the coun-